1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

a chief to forgive, even if the offender was a commoner; other chiefs would laugh at him if he did not. But perchance the seducer were not forgiven he would be killed at the first opportunity.

Regarding theft, the opinion of all early voyagers is expressed by Wilson (66, p. 385). "In their propensity to theft they [the Polynesians in general] too much resembled each other, though the Friendly Islanders seemed the most daring." Unfortunately we know nothing of the extent of thievery among the Tongans themselves, but presumably it was rare.

LIFE CRISES

BIRTH

When the time is nearly arrived for the delivery of a child, a messenger (usually the husband) is sent off for the midwife and should the first person the messenger meet be of the female sex, it is said that the child will be a girl, and vice versa. (Note from W. H. Murley.)

For the first ten days after childbirth the mother's diet was exclusively yams and hot coconut milk (*veifua*). At childbirth both mother and child were painted with turmeric (*enga*) and oil immediately. Collocott says (10, p. 418) that the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five days. Each day for two or three months the mother and child were given a sponge bath and repainted with turmeric, said to keep the mother and child warm and to induce the mother to produce milk quickly and plentifully. The use of turmeric is today yielding to fuller's earth. The following tale refers to the use of turmeric:

> Mahina was a hero who lived at Vaipoa in Vavau. Mahina had a god who guarded the water (a little bit of the sea) where Mahina bathed. A woman who had recently borne a child, and was therefore painted with turmeric, bathed in this water. The god disliked the smell of the turmeric in the water and shifted his quarters. He gulped the water up into his mouth and set off. Near Makave, Vavau, he met another god who made him laugh, and he spilt some of the water, which gave rise to the water called Finekata. Nearby he spilt some more out of his mouth which gave rise to the water called Veengangana (literally, spilt water). He went on to Tongatabu and established himself on the weather shore near Vaotuu, but another turmeric-painted matron disturbed him by bathing in his water, and so he packed up again and finally discharged the water at Tufumahina, Tongatabu.

That perhaps the newborn child was regarded as of supernatural origin is suggested by the word *louuluotua* (hair of the god), applied to the hair on the head of a child when born.

The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure frequently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the knee downward.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but not thereafter. The term *fakahaalavaka* was used to designate the particular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old female attendant. She and the old woman chew *tuitui* (candlenut), *langakali* flowers, *nukonuka* flowers, and *pako* grass root, or other sweet-smelling plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not married before first menstruation.

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was forbidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several months. 787 828

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in "doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food. [753]

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a spirit (*tevolo*). [753] [831] [776]

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect. 789 755 754

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called *falehangatamaki*. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.) 756

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given. [757]

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent. 789 825 [846]

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50). 789

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this rhyme is said: 789 856

Hinehina matailaila	White with spots	[539]
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku	Give me your bad tooth	[538]
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei moou.	But have a good tooth for yourself.	

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may 777

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 0U9 Tonga 0U9

14. It is tapu for a boat to pass to windward of another boat on which there is a greater chief. So Falepapalangi says to his rival that he desires to vaunt himself the greater man of the two.

15. The ending seems abrupt, and possibly there are lines missing.

Page 72. Falepapalangi

1. A woman freshly adorned from her toilet. Mother and new-born are also smeared with turmeric.

2. The opening of the turban allows the fragrance of the oil with which the head is anointed to escape.

3. "Chatter without going a voyage" is equivalent to "Talking about what you have never been to see, so little of a sailor that you would be sick in a pond."

4. This is sarcasm directed at the rival. "We hear the sounds of pleasure and think that the Vavau bard is amusing his fellow countrymen; but no, it turns out to be only the murmuring of the wind in the toa trees."

5. The situation of Fekitetele has evidently been long unknown. There is a fragment of a poem which refers to it as a name only whose position is unknown.

Fekite-tele te mau tala	Fekite-tele we shall tell
Koe'uhi pe hono hingoa	Only because of its name
Ka kuo 'ikai hono tu'unga.	But it has no position.

6. The homeless Vavauan is the rival, who is living in Tongatabu but has no real standing or home there. It is only by an act of grace that the chiefs of Tongatabu allow him to live with them.

Pages 72-73. A poem of Falepapalangi to Mamaeaepoto

1. Those who sail to Tongatabu, namely, the people of Haapai and Vavau.

2. Gift, the *inasi*, which was a ceremonious, religious offering of the first-fruits to the Tui Tonga, a harvest festival, was also used of the portions into which presentations of food, mats, and the like, are divided. Probably the reference is not to the religious festival, but to the portion of a chief in any ceremony.

3. Houmahaaloau and Anamanu, both in Vavau.

4. A gesture of giving up; renouncing; having no more to do with.

5. Falalatokelau is unidentified but probably is in Vavau, and apparently the meaning of the reference is that Mamaeaepoto has given up singing the praises of Vavau.

6. Toa and *feifai* are trees used in the toilet.

7. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupolu. Later on in the poem words are used which would make it seem as though the Tui Tonga was the king referred to. At the death of the last Tui Tonga in 1865 these words were formally transferred to the then Tui Kanokupolu, and have continued in his house, that of the reigning family. Even if this piece was composed before that transference, it is possible that courtesy might have allowed of the Tui Kanokupolu's being addressed in the highest terms. Probably it is best not to press the matter too closely but merely to say the king.

8. Mat (*ngafingafi*) is the ordinary cincture of respect in the presence of chiefs. The *fatai*, a creeping plant, seems to have been regarded as especially appropriate to men who had just come from the sea. Evidently the meaning here is that the king told Falepapalangi to dress himself in readiness to perform before him.

9. Falepapalangi represents himself as sitting on the deck of the windward canoe and hearing, perhaps from the deck of the larger canoe, the songs and conversation, and finds that he himself, or his poem, is being criticized, presumably in a composition of Mamaeaepoto.

10. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto would better compose a poem about Kafoa and leave him alone.

11. The gull (*tala*) is the poet himself, ranging for subjects, and lighting on some beautiful headland.

12. The simile, a beach where boats put in from all quarters, denotes that he is a meeting-place of many excellences, or a poet to whom many people resort, or a poet to whom many subjects furnish inspiration.

13. The meaning of this last part of the poem "I don't care what you do with my poetry; take it anywhere, to Akana (in Samoa, Aana), Tamatuitala (unidentified

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

construction, obviates the necessity of assuming outside influence. Old residents of Utungake report that the *esi* was built before their time in honor of a chieftain by the name of Tuita. But as Tuita is a family title rather than a personal name, and there have been Tuitas in every generation for a long time, the name furnishes no information as to the age of the structure.

4. Pitoopapuni (Umbilical-cord-of-Papuni) mound on a hill top on the northeast end of Tofua Island, Vavau.

The mound is 1 foot in average height with a flat circular top 11 feet in diameter. It is made of earth retained on all sides by a circle of rough coral stones. Many toa (*Casuarina*) trees are growing on and about the mound; they are the only ones seen on the island. The site offers a splendid view of the surrounding islands and is exposed to breezes that do not visit the lower places. This mound is described by local residents as the place where the umbilical cord of a chief, Papuni, reputed to have been a prince of the Tui Tonga dynasty was buried.

The burial of umbilical cords in *esi* mounds, as well as in other types of mounds was a common practice. The original name and purpose of this *esi* was probably overshadowed by the very high rank of Papuni, who became associated with the mound through the umbilical cord ceremony. The renaming of points of interest seems to have been a rather common occurrence.

5. Siakanume (*ṣia*, mound; *kanume*, possibly derived from *kano*, abbreviation of *kakano*, the inside or heart, and *mei*, the breadfruit tree, the mound is surrounded by breadfruit trees). The situation commands a fine view of the surrounding islands and sea and faces the cool trade winds. Local informants were agreed that the mound is an *esi* of a former Nomuka chieftain whose name is now forgotten.

Siakanume consists of a circle of dressed, rectangular, coral stones, set up with their long edges uppermost and with ends in close contact with adjoining stones, forming a wall 1 foot high and 0.4 foot to 0.5 foot thick. The circle of stones averages 20 feet in diameter, and encloses an area nearly filled with earth to constitute a level platform. Four monumental stones, each about 2.5 feet in height, rise from the retaining wall to stand respectively at the four approximate cardinal points of the circle. The southernmost of these monuments has the superior corners lopped off so as to form a gently pointed top. Like the stones in the *esi* at Utungake these monumental stones have special shapes, but there is little doubt about the primitive origin of the structure and monuments.

6. Makahokovalu (Eight-stone-pieces) on the northwest shore of the island of Uiha, Haapai.

Makahokovalu *esi* formerly consisted of a rectangular stone enclosure filled with earth to constitute a platform. The side toward the shore is now missing, having been undermined and so destroyed by wave erosion, but some of the large stones originally in the wall lie upon the beach. The remainder of the structure is in fairly good condition, although the flat top is entirely covered with a thick tangle of trees and brush (fig. 4).

The three walls remaining are composed of large, smoothly dressed, rectangular slabs of coral reef limestone which have an average apparent height of 3.7 feet, an

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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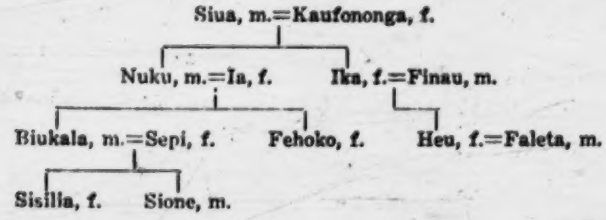
These attitudes begin at about the time when the girl has her first menstrual period—between the ages of eleven and twelve. They continue until old age.

Some of these respects are naturally transferred to the wife of the brother. Thus the brother's wife may sit and sleep in the same room as the sister-in-law, but may not scold or order her to do things. The sister may never touch her brother's wife, may not help her remove her clothes, may not wear her clothes, may not wipe the perspiration from her forehead. When the brother's wife is in labour, it is *tapu* for the sister to go near the house. After the delivery when the mother is lying comfortably and nicely covered, the sister may visit her and sit respectfully beside her. She may look at the baby and pick it up if it cries. If the mother is uncovered for any attention, the sister must leave the house. The sister decides whether she or someone else of her choice shall name the baby.

Where there are several sisters, these are ranked according to age and descent. Thus in the following genealogy:



both Heu and Fehoko are "sisters" of Biukala, but Heu outranks Fehoko and this outranking includes also the father's sister relationship *(mehekitanga)* to Biukala's children, because Heu is related to Biukala through Biukala's father's sister (Ika is the sister of Nuku). Heu must show respect for Sepi who is her brother's wife, and Fehoko must also observe similar *tapu* in relation to Sepi. The respectful attitudes between Heu and Biukala are weakened because of the fact that the closely related parents of both are now dead. Formerly, when the parents were alive, Heu and Biukala could neither speak to each other nor sit together in the same house. Now, with relaxed restrictions, this may be done and Heu may even go to Biukala's house to ask for food.

844 mother calls out: "*Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava*"—literally, "My breath and your breath." The father takes the afterbirth with the cord attached and digs a hole in the middle of a path near the house. He burns some dry leaves in this hole to warm it and then, when the fire dies down, places the afterbirth in the hole after wrapping it in bark cloth. The hole is then carefully filled in with earth.

Meanwhile the baby is being wiped clean with warm water. It is wrapped warmly in bark cloth and allowed to rest in the grandmother's lap. The medicine-man is given [759] presents in return for his services: mats, bark cloth, food, [465] sometimes money. The husband prepares a feast with as big a pig as he can afford. *Kava* is served to all friends [574] and relatives in the house. When the food is served, the [262] mother may not eat pork. The most honourable part of the pig, its back, is given to the medicine-man.

604 Two relatives who will later play an important role in the child's life, observe a different procedure. The *mehekitanga* (father's sister) may come into the house and hold 601 the child in giving it a name. The *fa'e tangata* (mother's brother) may not come into the house but spends his time in the cook-house helping with the feast.

846 For ten days after the birth the mother is confined entirely to the house. At the end of this time, the infant is [854] given a warm-water bath by the mother's mother. The mother may now leave the house to attend to bodily needs, but stays closely confined in the house for the rest of the day and night. This confinement lasts for three months in the case of the first-born, for two months in the case of a second-born, and thereafter for one month in the case of subsequent [795] children. A formal baptism in the church marks the end of this confinement of the mother. After this, the mother returns to full participation in the work of the household and in the everyday life of the village.

In the ten day confinement period, the routine is as follows: Mother and baby lie on separate beds of bark cloth. The mother's head is wrapped in a turban of bark [854] cloth and she is covered with layers of bark cloth. Close to her lies the baby surrounded with an enclosure of bark cloth over which a piece of cotton or muslin is thrown to keep away [574] flies. During the first day the father is busy preparing the

feast for the mother's relatives. Inside the house in the public section and separated from the mother by the bark cloth partition, the mother's relatives congregate: three or four men and perhaps ten or twelve women. A girl makes *kava* while the group sits talking. A man comes into the house, throws a gift of *kava* onto the floor in the centre of the room and says: "*Malo ae faele*"—"Thank you for the child's birth." All drink *kava*. *Kava* drinking and talking continue for the rest of the day. For the second day, visitors continue to come to the house, but they are fewer and there is no *kava*-drinking. Male relatives of the mother bring gifts of *kava*, female relatives bring gifts of baby-clothing. After the third day, visitors stop calling at the house. Relatives of the father do not visit during these early days. Toward the end of the ten-day period, they are formally invited by the father to visit the baby and mother. Food and *kava* are prepared for their visit.

It is to be noted that the mother's relatives receive first attention and are the only visitors allowed the mother during the early days of the confinement. Only later are the father's relatives present, and then only by invitation. According to village theory, the mother is presenting her husband's household with an item of great value. It is right, therefore, that she and her family should be honoured above all others. For the moment, the mother's family is active. The father's group is merely the passive recipient of the gift of new life. It is right, therefore, that this group should occupy a background position in the birth celebrations.

NAMING

The infant is named within a few hours after birth. The name is given by the father's sister (*mehekitanga*), by her son or daughter, or by some other close relative of the father's sister. This person formally asks the privilege of giving the name or, rather, of naming the name by which the child shall be known. At the same time she gives the child a present of clothing or a small baby-mat. Three days later, the father makes a feast for the name-giver and she receives gifts of mats and bark cloth which have been collected together by the father's mother and the mother's mother.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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276 right does the pounding. The boy on the left adds the water as required and later calls out the names of the drinkers that the cups of *kava* may be passed to them in turn.

[516] [784] The *kava*-maker sits quietly behind her bowl when she is not making or filling cups. She keeps her hands folded. She is not supposed to touch her head or face or to talk [841] throughout the evening. A menstruating girl neither makes nor drinks *kava* because of a *tapu* on cold water at this time. [846] A woman who has given birth to a child, similarly does not make *kava* for at least a month after the delivery.

276 574 576 The drinkers sit in a semi-circle facing the *kava*-bowl if the arrangement of the house allows this pattern. Otherwise they sit round three walls of the house, their backs against the walls, with the *kava*-maker at the fourth wall. Generally the young man at the left of the maker calls the name of the drinker. He holds a half coconut-cup over the bowl. The maker lifts the strainer and the *kava* runs into the cup. The drinker named claps his hands together twice and the cup is passed hand to hand until it reaches the drinker. The drinker may indicate that the cup is not full enough for his liking. In this case, the cup is passed back and more *kava* is added. The drinker is supposed to swallow his cupful at one breath. He passes the empty cup back along the circle of hands to be refilled for another or else spins the cup along the floor in such fashion that it comes to rest against the *kava*-bowl. Two coconut-cups are sufficient for any but the largest gathering. The drinkers wait patiently for their names to be called. If the *kava* is finished before all the names of those present are called, those uncalled are without luck. The bowl is placed aside to wait until another bowlful is made. This may be any time up to half an hour later. Meanwhile the flow of discussion is resumed until one of the older men present indicates by a nod or muttered word that it is time to make more *kava*. The wrung-out *kava* from the last bowl is used again unless it is obvious that all the strength has been washed out. Then new *kava*-root is substituted entirely or else added to the old crushed root.

276 574 576 571 There is little attempt to preserve any patterned formality in an ordinary drinking-party. An older man indicates that one of the youth should call the names for the drinking unless he asks one of the adults to do so. Names

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

There is always a
"wise woman" officiating, generally one of the hereditary sisterhood, but sometimes an old woman who had adopted the profession from choice, and is consequently looked down upon as an interloper and a quack. The fees, given in kind, are high when the poverty of the donors is considered—*ngatu* and mats to the value of 30s. or more. The "wise woman" receives the child on a tiny mat specially plaited for the occasion. If it is a boy, the umbilicus is severed on a digging-stick to make him a good cultivator; if a girl, on a *ngatu*-mallet to make her a good beater of cloth. The child is then washed and rubbed over with oil and turmeric, a small quantity of candle-nut and cocoa-nut juice is forced into its mouth to make it vomit, and for the first two days it is fed by hand upon cocoa-nut-milk, or suckled by another woman, because at that early stage the mother's milk is believed to be insufficient and unwholesome. During the first month the child's grandmothers, or its unmarried aunts, are told off to supply the mother with food and look after the house, and the mother is spared all exertion. It would be better for her and the child if at this stage she were also deprived of kava and tobacco. Before the missionaries had inculcated family life on the European plan, the native social system recognised a physical peculiarity in Tongan women, and insisted upon the seclusion of the mother during the whole period of lactation in order to avoid a second gestation within too short a period of the birth, and consequently the premature weaning of the first child. As in Japan, the time of suckling was prolonged until all the teeth had come; for the Tongans have no good substitute for the mother's

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a relic, much changed and corrupted, from the ceremonial observances of the Jews.

3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

4. The same may be said of the rite of circumcision, which was regularly practised by them. An uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable; and the custom has only disappeared in recent years.

5. Every person and thing that touched a dead body was considered unclean, and remained so until after the lapse of a certain number of days. During that allotted time, those whose duties compelled them to do the rites of burial, were not allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food prepared by others. They were therefore carefully fed by attendants.

6. Females, after child-birth, and after other periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separation; and were subjected to ceremonial purifications.

7. The Tongueso had cities of refuge, corresponding to those instituted among the Jews; the uses and regulations of which were closely akin to theirs.

8. The priestly orders and functions resembled, in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law. The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become inspired by the god, as his shrine or representative, while receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the Taula;

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

BIRTH AND PUBERTY

Before his birth the Tongan is protected by tabus which show the working of sympathetic magic. The expectant mother must not put any sort of girdle or necklace about her neck lest in labor the umbilical cord become entangled around the child's neck. The coconut for her to drink must be properly opened. There are two ways of opening a nut, one by piercing the little round eye at the stalk end, and the other by striking off the bottom of the nut, thus making a hole usually about two inches across. The pregnant woman must drink only nuts pierced at the top. Should she drink one opened by the other method her child's mouth will gape like the gaping coconut. She must not cut anything with a knife. Should she neglect this precaution her child will be marked by some sympathetic deformity, e.g., the hand may be deformed as though the fingers had been shorn off. She must not sit in the doorway of a house, lest, as she is partly within and partly without the house, her child's face reflect this local ambiguity by being differently formed on the two sides. The pregnant woman must allow no temptation to induce her to steal, as the child is sure to bear the mark of theft. Should the mother, for instance, steal a fowl and prepare it for the oven the child's legs may be trussed up like the fowl's, and so on of other thefts and their appropriate stigmata. In 1920 a woman bore a child whose hands were deformed as though the fingers had been cut off. She was questioned, and confessed that during her pregnancy she had stolen and cut up a fowl. These prohibitions for a pregnant woman apply with especial force against unauthorized meddling with her husband's possessions, though if she obtain his permission to use anything belonging to him she may do so without fear.

After confinement both mother and child are smeared with turmeric, and the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five nights, or, as we should say, five days. Bathing was also prohibited for a fixed period, in this case three nights, after a boy had undergone the operation of supercision, which is performed at the approach of puberty. After three nights the boy goes to the sea and bathes, this bathing having been called in my hearing, though doubtfully, the tabu bath. At about the same time the long lock of hair left on a

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

boy's head seems to have been cut. This practice of leaving a long lock is now obsolescent. One still sees it, but not frequently. It is said that the hair of the girls used to be cut short on the crown and left long at the sides, but that at puberty the hair was cut the same length all over and then allowed to grow. This treatment of the girl's hair has become even more rare than the boy's long lock and I am unable to say that I have seen any undoubted example.

Amongst the gifts at a wedding are mats, presented by the bride's relatives, on which the young couple shall lay their children when born. The happy pair rarely, if ever, use this thoughtful gift for its ostensible purpose, and indeed do not keep it for themselves at all, but let it go in the general distribution of presents at the wedding ceremony. For some days prior to the marriage of high chiefs, the length of time varying according to the period before the guests begin to arrive, native cloth for towels, and candle-nuts (with which the Tongans prepare a favorite detergent) are presented to both bride and bridegroom. The interesting statement has been made that the cloth and mats used by the bride in bathing were afterwards given to the bridegroom, but this has been categorically denied by the chief whose marriage called forth the statement, and as few have taken a deeper interest in ancient Tongan ceremonial, or are better versed in it, his ignorance of any such practice cannot be lightly set aside. In his opinion the cloth and candle-nuts were presented to the bride and bridegroom for them to cleanse and beautify themselves for each other. He added that there is always the possibility that they will not be so used, and that in any case they are distributed to the guests with the other presents. It should be added that the portion of the wedding gifts which ultimately falls to the lot of the bride and bridegroom may be very small.

It is time, however, to return to our new-born infant, whose cord has not yet been cut. The cutting of the cord was performed by the male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord conveniently, and as paterfamilias struck it asunder with an axe he uttered a wish for the future career of the child—that a boy might grow up a great warrior or fisherman, that a girl might be beautiful, and so forth. The paternal benediction not infrequently called for

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren. The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an outstanding feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase. They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used. When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversation about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*. The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting, one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take care of her.

Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece

Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*, the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

Fakafotu have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

56: Samwell1 D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds, made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone, Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, & 3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing in them; these Cemetries called in their Language Dano[1] are kept very neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.[2] They have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cock-pit, they call them Ejee.[3] Their Manufactures are of various kinds, that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner, others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit upon on extroardinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

[1] *tano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery in general; *fa'itaka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

[2] sic; *fa'itaka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

[3] *asi*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

142 The Women are in general handsome tho' many among them somewhat masculine, & it was the general Opinion that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheite Ladies, who from being more covered are of a fairer Complexion; however we saw great Numbers of Girls here as beautiful or more so than any at Otaheite & who in Symmetry & proportion might dispute the palm with any women under the Sun. They wear much the same kind of Clothing as the men & wear necklaces of Shells and the Legs of Fowls & some made of a small black Seed.[1] They are clothed from the Waist to the Knees & all the other parts are exposed. The lower Class of young women have their Hair cut short, while those of the Agee order wear it long & flowing down their Shoulders which had a graceful and a truly elegant Appearance, & made us lament that the superstitious Custom of mourning for the dead should deprive a young Creature as beautiful as Venus herself of her chief Ornament, which is always the Case on the Death of the Chiefs or their own Relations. As to modesty these women have no more Claim to it than the Otaheiteans, we have had on board the ships large Companies of them dancing stark naked, at the same time using the most lascivious Gestures.[2] These Agee Girls, as we called them, never came on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for the Chiefs who marry them. After lying in the women stain their bodies & faces of a yellow Colour[3] & this they continue to do for a certain time. Polygamy seems to be allowed at these Islands to the Chiefs some of whom had four or five wives, tho' it is probable that none but those of the first Consequence are allowed as many, the generality of the people having only one.

We saw 4 or 5 white people at these Islands and at Annamooka a Child of about a year old, they are all much alike in their Persons & appearance, all small slender people with very weak eyes that can hardly bear the light; their Skin where it is not covered is rough & cracked & of a red Colour that under their Cloaths is exactly like the skin of an European. It is the Opinion of some that the whiteness of the Skin is occasioned by a Distemper, if it be so it is a distemper that is born with them; it is certain that they have a very puny sickly appearance & are altogether a disagreeable ugly looking people. We saw no Women of this Colour.

[1] The berries of the Poro, *Solanum nigrum*.

[2] The foregoing sentence is an insertion in the MS; hence the dislocation in the sense of the following one.

[3] A mixture of turmeric and oil was used. It was supposed to aid the mother's flow of milk. The child was painted similarly.

278
137

RHAMNACEAE
(Buckthorn Family)

ALPHITONIA ZIZYPHOIDES (Spreng.) A. Gray

toi

This large tree is frequent in Tonga and is distributed also from Sumatra and the Philippines eastward to Polynesia.

278 In Tahiti the bark enters into lotions for treating eczema (19).

[171] In Tonga the liquid derived from the [757] boiled bark is drunk in cases of constipation, for coughs, headache, and menstrual pain. [841]

RUBIACEAE
(Coffee Family)

278
137 CARINTA HERBACEA (Jacq.) W. F. Wight, ex Saff.

tono

This pantropical species is occasional in Tonga.

278 In Tonga the leaves are crushed, placed in a cloth, and then squeezed in a small
846 quantity of water. The wet cloth is sucked by newly born infants. The liquid is thought to help make the meconium pass.

278 GARDENIA TAITENSIS DC.

siale

137 Frequently planted in Tonga for its flowers, this species occurs also in Fiji and throughout Polynesia.

278 In Tahiti an infusion of the flowers is taken as a remedy for migraine headache
171 (19). In Niue the root-bark is considered a treatment for headache (31), while in the Philippines the fruits of *G. pseudopsidium* (Blanco) Vill. are used against smallpox (8).

278 In Tonga an infusion of the bark mixed with sugar and lime juice is employed to
757 relieve nausea, headache, and weakness in [843] pregnancy. A plain infusion of the bark is [775] valued as a cure for hallucinations thought [828] to be caused by the ghost of a deceased relative.

GUETTARDA SPECIOSA L.

278 *puopua*

137 This tree is commonly found near the shore in Tonga, and is widely distributed throughout Polynesia.

[p. 444-A]

/81 cont./

844 ma'uli (the Tongan midwife). Her mother and her sister are also fetched if they can be reached. --The newborn child is washed and rubbed with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga). /82/ Rubbing with turmeric 844 178 (kurkuma) (235)

(113) 235. Compare J. Wilson, Missions-Reise in das sudliche stille Meer /Mission journey to the South Pacific/, translated from English by D. Canzler. Berlin. 1800. page 396; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 273; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 185.

is apparently no longer practiced, neither in the case of the child nor the mother. The old custom of burying the umbilical cord is, however, still widespread it is, of course, omitted in hospital births. The umbilical cord, after it is cut off, is wrapped in a piece of tapa or feta'aki (raw tapa) (also possibly in a piece of European cloth) and buried near the house by the father, in a hole approximately 3/4 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ meters deep. In order to mark the spot, it is buried under a tree, for example, or else a stone is placed on the spot, or a flower or a sapling are planted on it. Even in a village like Fungamisi, the settlement bordering the seaport Neiafu, this custom is still commonly observed. Many people forget the place where their children's umbilical cords are buried, while, on the other hand, very modern and progressive Tongans keep careful track of the spots.

553 If the child's father is present, the child is given a name on the day of its birth. If the father happens to be on a trip to another island, his return is awaited. According to the old (604) custom, the father's sister (mehekitanga) names the child (chooses its name). The father himself can also give the name, but not the mother of the child.

846 574 Birth was and is, in general, not connected with special

/82 cont./

846 574 festivities. It is simply customary for relatives (especially those of the mother) and neighbors to come, in order to see the newborn child 846 574 and to bring gifts, such as tapa, (small) mats, a basket of yams, a 431 chicken, or European articles such as baby powder, for example. They are offered food that has been prepared in advance, and soon (after [602] one or two hours) the visitors return home. It is only after the birth of the first child in the family that the father with his kinsmen prepares a very large earth oven for the kinfolk of his wife. they form a kava circle and the two family groups exchange gifts of mats and tapa. Some families also repeat this celebration after subsequent births.

853 The Tongan mother begins feeding her baby by chewing a piece of coconut meat that has been heated in the fire, then wrapping this in a piece of raw tapa (feta'aki) and putting this in the child's mouth to suck. After two days the baby is given the mother's breast (huhu). In two or three months the supplementary diet is begun. The mother skins bananas (of the siaine species) that have been roasted in the fire, chews the bananas and gives them to the child which is also fed yams (for example, 'ufi-lei) baked in the earth oven and chewed (or crushed), bread fruit, sweet potatoes and /83/ coconut milk. (236)

853 197 236. The juice squeezed out of coconut meat.

However, this typical, ancient Tongan baby diet is today, in many cases, replaced by European food. Instead of the chewed coconut meat in raw tapa, the child is given warm sugar-water and in place of the aforementioned supplementary diet the baby is often given soaked pieces of bread and zwieback that have been chewed or crushed with a fork (spoon). Occasionally, a bottle with cow's milk is given instead of the breast. (237)

237. On Lifuka, for example, a woman raised the eight children of her adopted daughter

/83~cont./

853 177 with sweetened condensed milk, in order to "spare" the young mother "and keep her beautiful."

853 178 Formerly, mothers nursed their children for a very long time. Today, the average nursing period is eight to nine months, in extreme cases, 14 months. Since, in a long nursing period, the babies cannot get [744] enough strength from their mother's milk, and the mother herself should be spared this burden, the Tongan health service tries to reduce the long nursing period by the mothers' education.--After an initial liquid, soft diet the children are given the same food as adults, as soon as they have enough teeth.

846 The woman who has given birth lies on her bed (sleep mats and tapa, possibly also a European sheet and pillow) about ten days. Then she gets up and attends to the child herself. Frequently, however, her mother (or her sister) help her for another month or so. At first, the woman in childbed generally eats only light [262] food. For example, she will eat Tongan food such as boiled yams or [177] boiled chicken, and drink /the milk of/ a coconut warmed in the earth oven; or else she will live on European food, for example rice (that has become popular in Tonga) or white bread, zwieback and tea.

854 177 Commonly, babies are now wrapped in European-type diapers. Women buy them readymade or they will obtain a length of material and cut it into the required pieces. In some cases they also make panties of European material or buy them readymade. Often, however, even bigger babies crawl about without any clothes at all. European soap is commonly used in caring for the baby, sometimes also baby

856 powder. At approximately nine months the little ones start their first walking exercises.

851 In accordance with the parents' religion, the child is soon (within three months) carried to church for baptism, which is fol-